

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-10 IO-14 OIC-04 ACDA-19 CU-04 OMB-01

EB-11 DRC-01 /165 W

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R 021905Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 417

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 11

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

S E C R E T VIENNA 9071

GENEVA FOR CSCE AND SALT DELS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 2 NOV 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS HAD A SMOOTH AND FRICTION-LESS OPENING IN VIENNA THIS WEEK. IN OPENING SPEECHES AND PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, THE EASTERN SIDE STAYED CLOSELY WITHIN THE LINES LAID DOWN BY BREZHNEV IN HIS 26 OCTOBER SPEECH TO THE WORLD PEACH CONGRESS. THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE AND MANY OTHER REPRESENTATIVES QUOTED VERBATIM FROM THE BREZHNEV SPEECH. BEYOND THAT, THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CHOSE TO OMIT THE PHRASE "AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES" FROM THE AGREED DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A SINGLE MENTION OF THE PHRASE BY THE SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN REPS. FOUR THEMES CHARACTERIZED THE REACTION OF THE
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EASTERN DELEGATES TO THE WESTERN PRESENTATIONS: THEY DISPUTED WESTERN CLAIMS THAT EXISTING DISPARITIES FAVOR THE PACT; THEY QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR EXTENSIVE "GENERAL DEBATE" AND HINTED THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO GET TO WORK DIRECTLY ON A REDUCTION AGREEMENT;

THEY PROBED FOR EXPLANATIONS OF WHAT THE WESTERN SIDE MEANT BY REFERENCES TO NOT HAMPERING THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY; AND THEY DISPLAYED SOME UNCERTAINTY AS TO HOW THE TALKS WOULD BE CONDUCTED IN THE COMING WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON 30 OCTOBER, NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE OPENED IN THE KONGRESSHOUS IN VIENNA. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY NOTWITHSTANDING THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE LONGER-TERM EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS ON THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS. THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TOOK A CAUTIOUS APPROACH IN THEIR OPENING SPEECHES, EITHER REITERATING FAMILIAR THEMES OR DRAWING HEAVILY ON BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS ON FORCE REDUCTIONS IN HIS 26 OCTOBER ADDRESS TO THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW.

3. AFTER THE SOVIET REP (KHLESTOV) HAD DELIVERED THE LAST OF THE EASTERN SPEECHES ON 31 OCTOBER, THE WESTERN SIDE KNEW ONLY A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THE EASTERN POSITION THAN IT HAD PRIOR TO THE OPENING. THE EASTERN SPEAKERS CONFIRMED THAT THEY INTERPRET THE INITIAL TALKS AS HAVING DEFINED THE AREA WHICH IS TO BE THE OBJECT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS: THE FRD, BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS, AND LUXEMBOURG ON THE WESTERN SIDE AND THE GDR, POLAND, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE EASTERN SIDE. HUNGARIAN TERRITORY AND FORCES ARE CLEARLY INTENDED TO BE BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE EASTERN SPEAKERS ALSO REITERATED THE ESSENCE OF BREZHNEV'S FORMULATION CONCERNING FORCES TO BE REDUCED: FOREIGN AND NATIONAL, LAND AND AIR, INCLUDING "UNITS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR ARMS". HITTING ON WAHT PROMISES TO BE THE CENTRAL PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST OVER HOW TO OBTAIN "UNDIMINISHED SECURITY", THE SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN OPENING STATEMENTS SPECIFIED THAT THE EASTERN APPROACH IS BASED ON PRESERVING THE "EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES". THE EASTER POINT, THEREFORE, IS THAT ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS WOULD BE DESTABILIZING. THE GENERAL OMISSION BY THE EAST OF THE TERM "ASSOCIATED MEASURES"--MENTIONED ONLY ONCE EACH BY THE SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN REPS--FROM THE AGREED DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS SEEMS INTENDED AS A SIGNAL THAT SUCH MEASURES

ARE DEPENDENT ON WHATEVER REDUCTION MEASURES MIGHT BE AGREED.

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4. THE ROMANIANS AGAIN WENT THEIR OWN WAY, BUT DID SO MODESTLY. DISCLAIMING ANY MAJOR ROLE IN THESE TALKS, THEY NONETHELESS STAKED OUT A CLAIM TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE AND PARTICULARLY TO JOIN IN ANY WORKING GROUPS. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR DESIRE THAT THE TALKS BE OPEN TO ALL INTERESTED EUROPEANSTATES, A LINE TAKEN IN A PRO FORMA MANNER BY ALL OTHER EASTERN PARTICIPANTS BUT BULGARIA. THE MAIN ROMANIAN CONCERNIS TO RETAIN A VISIBLE ROLE IN THE TALKS. THEY ALSO REITERATED THEIR NOW-FAMILIAR CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY FORCES WITHIN NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, MILITARY NEGOTIATIONS TO COVER OTHER AREAS OF EUROPE, AND GENERAL EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT.

5. MORE REVEALING WAS THE REACTION OF THE EASTERN REPS TO PARTICULAR

ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. THE EASTERN REACTION STUCK FOUR THEMES. FIRST, THE SOVIETS QUESTIONED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE US AND OTHER ALLIED REPS THE WESTERN ASSERTIONS THAT WARSAW PACT FORCES HAVE SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGES OVER NATO FORCES. THEY CLAIMED THAT ASYMMETRIES ON ONE SIDE TENDED TO BE BALANCED BY ASYMMETRIES FAVORING THE OTHER SIDE AND, IN PARTICULAR, THAT NATO HAD AN ADVANTAGE IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SECONDLY, THE SOVIETS QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR EXTENSIVE GENERAL DEBATE, AS SUGGESTED BY THE ALLIED INTENT TO DISCUSS "THEMES" IN THE COMING WEEKS. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES KHRISTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY INDICATED AN INTEREST IN MOVING EXPEDITIOUSLY TO DISCUSSION OF REDUCTIONS. THIRDLY, THE SOVIETS AND OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS PROBED FOR WESTERN EXPLANATIONS OF WHAT HAD BEEN MEANT BY STATEMENTS THAT MBFR MEASURES MUST NOT HAMPER THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN MOST WESTERN OPENING STATEMENTS. SMIRNOVSKY ASKED THE US REP WHETHER THESE STATEMENTS POSED A PROBLEM FOR THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS AND JUST WHAT THE EC MEMBERS OF NATO HAD IN MIND REGARDING MILITARY INTEGRATION. OTHER WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES RECEIVED SIMILAR QUERIES. LASTLY, MOST EASTERN DELEGATIONS MEMBERS PROFESSED SOME UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE COMING WEEKS, AND DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE LOOKED BEYOND THE OPENING STATEMENTS. THE WESTERN AD HOC GROUP ON THE OTHER HAND WAS WELL PREPARED FOR THE OPENING AND HAS MAINTAINED A HIGH DEGREE OF COHESION.

6. ASSESSMENT: THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS ARE CURRENTLY IN THE PROCESS OF DIGESTING THE RATHER FULL MEAL SERVED UP IN THE WESTERN OPENING STATEMENTS. THEY DID NOT ANTICIPATE THE WESTERN INTENTION TO HOLD A PERIOD OF THEMATIC PLENARY DISCUSSIONS TO FOLLOW ON THE
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OPENING STATEMENTS. THEY MAY NOT, THEREFORE, BE PREPARED TO JOIN ACTIVELY IN THE DISCUSSION OF THEMES AT THE PLENARY SESSION SCHEDULED FOR 6 NOVEMBER. WHEN THEY DO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DISCUSSIONS , IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL AT THE OUTSET MAINLY REITERATE POINTS MADE IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS WITHOUT EXTENSIVE ELABORATION, WHILE PROBING FOR MORE DETAILS ON THE WESTERN POSITION. HUMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 12 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DETENTE, AGREEMENT DRAFT, MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA09071
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731168/abqcelna.tel
Line Count: 149
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by smithrj>; APPROVED <17-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 2 NOV 1973
TAGS: PARM, XG, XH, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
SOFIA
LISBON
WARSAW
PRAGUE

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005